175 Baangoni had to give up their plan to subjugate the Babembas. [illegible]y turned towards Tabora. After their victory over the Baangoni [illegible] Babemba on the other hand, carried the war into the [illegible] their cowardly neighbors, whom they subjugated and ruled with an [797] iron hand. When Mgr. Dupont came to the terrible kingdom of the Babemba for the first time, the tribe had established its rule over a territory which was twice the size of the present Vicarage. The neighboring tribes would tremble at the mere mention of the word [648] Babemba. Even today we can hear songs cursing the cruelty of the Babemba among the tribes of Tanganyika and Broken Hill.

161 The present population of the Babemba is about 100, 000. The wars of the past have decimated them.

181 The most outstanding characteristic of the Babemba is that they are a war-like tribe to the highest degree, dreaming only of pillage, battle, submission of neighboring tribes, imposition of overburdening tributes, expansion and aggrandizement of the kingdom, but all this by means of a civil and military organization which is indeed remark- [57] able. The Babemba are one of the most intelligent races of Africa. [192] They have an exceedingly rich language including more than 20, 000 [538] words; they have a literature of their own consisting of martial poetry, songs of all kinds, more than 1500 proverbs, several hundred riddles, about a thousand axioms, etc.; a treasure bequeathed by their ancestors

157 In mining centers the Babembas are known for their keenness /zeal/, their polite manners, their respect for authority, and their spirit of initiative.

484 My picture would not be complete if I did not mention the fact that the Babemba of today are perhaps the greatest adventurers of Central Africa. You meet Babemba everywhere. There are Babemba in Zanzibar, Panda, Lindi, Bulawayo, in Broken Hill, the Belgian Congo, in Transvaal and on the Cape. The Mubemba does not find it difficult to move; he can take care of himself, and he is at home everywhere.

584 ENGAGEMENT /Kukobeka/: Engagement takes place at an early age, around ten or twelve years, when the young betrothed are not yet nubile /amabele tayalakula/. /21/

Consent: An emissary /Shibukombe/, who does not belong to the clan of those who wish to become engaged, is chosen. He is a man who enjoys a certain amount of prestige in the village and can speak out

2:Richards E-5 (1930-1934)1939
FQ5 Bemba FQ5

PART VI

ORGANIZING THE WORK

CHAPTER XVII

RELIGION AND MAGIC IN ECONOMIC LIFE

The Nature of Economic Ritual.

THE fundamental Bemba beliefs in the powers of their ancestral spirits have already been referred to constantly, whether in relation to their political organization, their system of land tenure, or their general attitude towards the production and collection of food. But the ritual of their ancestor worship remains to be outlined, and in particular the part it plays in their whole economic life. The Bemba pray, or offer sacrifices, at all the chief events of the agricultural year such as tree-cutting, sowing, and harvest. Formerly this ceremonial seems to have been unusually rich and complex, especially that performed at the Paramount Chief's court. Nowadays the rites are carried out with diminishing ceremony, by fewer people, and often with great secrecy, owing to severe discouragement from some of the missionaries in the area. But the beliefs associated with these rites still seemed to me to dominate the people's thoughts and to affect their agricultural efforts, while the ceremonies themselves, even when temporarily abandoned, were often resumed at times of ill luck or catastrophe. They had still to be reckoned as one of the most important sanctions of the chief's authority, and were hence unfailingly performed at the latter's court.

For all these reasons it is important for our special purpose to estimate the function of these magico-religious practices in Bemba economic life and, consequently, the effect which their lapse is likely to have on the production of food in the territory as a whole. In a tribe living at this particular level of development it is chiefly human energy and purpose which makes the difference between failure and success, and ritual has often been described as one of the chief means by which the courage and industry of a primitive people is kept at its height. This pragmatic aspect of magic and religion was first emphasized by Malinowski in his analysis of

[p. 351]

2:Richards E-5 (1930-1934)1939
FQ5 Bemba FQ5

769 796 value'. But in Bemba society the ritual stress on the legal and political prerogatives of the chief is also prominent at the first-fruits ceremonies, and the harvest, as well as the tree-cutting, can be made the occasion of a big display of the Paramount's power.

(*f*) *Rain ritual.* Prayers for rain are rarely necessary in this area as the supply is usually ample, but when they occur the Citimukulu is alone responsible. I never heard of a territorial chief or a headman praying for rain, or an *yanga* asked to provide it by magic. The only means of obtaining rain is apparently to send an ox to the chiefs' burial grove in charge of one of the royal undertakers, and the ShiMwalule there sacrifices the beast at the shrine in the grove. One such sacrifice was apparently performed in 1930.

771 182 To conclude, the magico-religious rites of the Bemba were certainly an integral part of their whole economic system. The ceremonies gave an impetus to their ordinary agricultural activities, and enabled the chief to organize their efforts more effectively, and thus to support the whole machinery of tribal government. The performance of the ritual constantly emphasized the supernatural powers of the chief, both in his own person and by his right of access to the tribal spirits. On this deeply-seated belief in the attributes of their *mfumu*, economic incentives and the use of land ultimately depended. It is this faith which has been weakened nowadays with pronounced effects on the whole morale of the tribe, as far as agriculture is concerned. How far Christian ritual has taken the place of the old agricultural ceremonies I do not know. I have seen natives cross themselves before tree-cutting and sowing, and I believe that some missions hold church services for the blessing of the seeds, but it will remain a fact that the old Bemba ceremonial of ancestor worship put the control of the religious rites into the hands of the political and administrative authority of the tribe, while those of the Christian churches do not, and cannot, do the same, since no big chiefs have yet accepted Christianity.

177 771 797

3: Richards E-5 (1930-1934)1956
FQ5 Bemba FQ5

joking and talking and although there were admonitions by the *nacimbusa* to work harder, to be more serious, and to dance more strenuously (see p. 73), it was plain that these were not spontaneous emotions.

The teasing of the girls was apparently considered to be a duty rather than a pleasurable excitement.

There remains the question of the significance of the ceremony to Bemba in terms of its survival in times of change. The chisungu was forbidden by missionaries some thirty to fifty years before I saw a performance in 1931. It is a conspicuous affair since it consists so largely of drumming and dancing and it is not a rite which can be performed in secret within a hut. It is run by women alone and does not have the backing of the chiefs who have supported initiation ceremonies quite tenaciously in some parts of Africa. Present-day economic factors such as shortage of food and the absence of men at the mines, also militate against the persistence of such a rite. In these conditions it is worth asking which part of the chisungu has actually survived.

The rites were everywhere shortened in 1931 and 1933 when I was in the country. In many places they were not performed at all. In these cases the puberty ritual proper, that is to say the bringing of the girl to the fire after her first period, was retained alone. Although the chisungu itself was not organized, yet there was a combination of the first *ukusolwela*, rite (see p. 54) and the seclusion of the girl in a special hut for some days in villages near the motor road leading from Broken Hill to Kasama and also in the mine compounds at Luanshya and Ndola, all of them areas of maximum contact. This would seem to bear out the conclusions to which the analysis of Bemba comments lead, namely that it is the magic rites of protection that the people consider the most essential part of the chisungu. It also supports Schapera's hypothesis that magic rites tend to survive in contact with Europeanism, while religious ceremonies associated with moral values or prayers to ancestral spirits tend to be abandoned.

The following table gives some attempt at a numerical analysis of the morals taught by means of the chisungu songs and *mbusa*. It will be referred to again.

601 [605] sister's child or the mother's brother's child. Cross-cousin marriage is, as has been said, the preferential marriage, and joking relationships exist between a man and his female cross-cousins on either side.

In the first ascending generation, a man uses the term *tata* for his own father, his father's brothers, real and classificatory, and the husband of a woman whom he calls mother. He uses the term *mayo* for his own mother and her sisters, real or classificatory. He distinguishes his father's sister by a special term, *mayo senge*, from his mother's sisters and the mother's brother by a separate term, *yama*, from his father's brother. In the first descending generation, there is a common term, *mwana*, used for both sexes, but a man calls the children of his sister by a special term, *mwipwa*, and a woman calls the children of her brother either *mwipwa* or *mwana senge*.

In the second ascending generation there is a common term, *shikulu*, for the paternal and maternal grandfathers, real or classificatory, and *mama* for grandmother. In the second ascending generation the same term, *mweshikulu*, is used for boys and girls, whether the children of daughters or the children of sons. The common term, *bukwe*, is used for spouses and members of the *lupwa*, although there is a special term for sons-in-law and daughters-in-law, *shifyala* or *nafyala*. These terms are used reciprocally.

CHANGES IN MARRIAGE AND THE FAMILY DUE TO EUROPEAN INFLUENCE

797 177 Changes in marriage and the family have resulted both from the teaching of Christian missions and also because of the absences of adult males, who leave home to earn the means wherewith to pay tax and buy European goods. Missionary teaching has, as in other areas, been directed against the practice of polygyny and divorce. Missionaries have also opposed the practice of giving young girls to their husbands before puberty. They have endeavoured also to eradicate the magical attitudes towards sex and fire, described in a later section - attitudes which form one of the sanctions of marriage morality. They have been largely successful in their attempt to prevent the celebration of girls' initiation ceremonies (*cisungu*

797 177 585 Native marriage is recognised in this area. The British South Africa Company recognised the Native Customary Law from the start and administered it through district magistrates' courts with the aid of Bemba assessors. Simultaneously the Missions instituted various Christian ceremonials in which a restricted(1) form of traditional marriage ceremony was carried out with the institution in 1929 of Native Courts of Law, all civil actions arising out of marriage were referable to them and not to a European Magistrate. An early missionary claim to regulate marriages was quashed in 1934. Native marriages may now be registered.

LABOUR MIGRATION

167 464 Although it is generally recognized that labour migration has been an

(1) Without initiation rites and full ceremonial, e.g. post-initiation intercourse.

Tabwa (Aitawa), Lungu, Bemba, and Aushi (including their off-shoots the Kawendi and Mukulo). In addition there are Bwile (Bwiri), Mambwe, Bisa, Ngumbo, Mukulu, Lala, Lamba, Lomotwa, Yeke (Nyamwezi) and Swahili elements. The presence of the Batembo pygmies, whom Maes and Boone(1) place just south of Lake Mweru on their tribal map of the region, is not confirmed by other authorities. The extent of tribal mixture is shown by the fact that the headmen of thirty-four villages in Kambwali's chiefdom belong to eleven different tribes. None of the tribes is indigenous to the valley. 166 619

The tribe, *mutundu* (pl. *mitundu*: the word is also used for a species of animal, bird or tree) or *mushyobo*, is not a descent group. Tribal allegiance, unlike clan affiliation, can be changed with residence. Though never in doubt about their clan, people may be uncertain as to their tribe. Inter-tribal differences in custom were never considerable. Neither physical type, form of settlement, nor language are now reliable indications of tribal origin. Certain characteristics are traditionally attributed to particular tribes: the Bemba are proverbially cruel, the Shila good fishermen and canoe-makers; the Tabwa are renowned as witches and for the beauty of their women,(2) the Lomotwa for their quarrelsomeness. In spite of territorial dispersion, members of a tribe consider themselves *lupwa lumo*, "of one stock". The chiefs of neighbouring tribes occasionally visit their former subjects established in Kazembe's country. 184 619 829

The Lunda possessed a special status and constituted a sort of nobility to which distinguished outsiders - non-Lunda chiefs and headmen - could be admitted by being invested with Lundahood (*ubulunda*). 619 565

DEMOGRAPHY

No estimates are available for the population in the valley on the western (Belgian Congo) side. On the eastern side in Northern Rhodesia it was estimated by Coxhead at 32,000 in 1914.(3) He made no attempt, however, to distinguish between the various tribal groups, referring to all the subjects of the Kazembe as "the Lunda". According to more recent estimates the eastern population approaches 50,000 and shows signs of rapid expansion. It is now concentrated in some 300 villages strewn along the Luapula by the trunk road built on the hard land next to the riverside swamps. No figures are available to indicate variations in the density of population, which must be very high locally as many of the villages adjoin one another forming a continuous row of habitations along the side of the road. 161

Except for missionaries there are no resident Europeans in Kazembe's kingdom. On Nkuba's side a group of colonial officials and traders live at Kasenga. 797

Mobility has always been high and numbers have fluctuated widely as a result of migrations due to wars and to the popularity of individual chiefs.(4) A large proportion of the population is said to have left the country during the reign of Keleka, the fourth Kazembe, remembered for his atrocities.(5) 167

(1) Maes and Boone, 1935, p.135.
(2) Livingstone, 1874, I, p.259.
(3) Coxhead, 1914, p.64.
(4) Livingstone, op.cit., p.254.
(5) Livingstone, op.cit., p.265.

5:Slaski E-4 (no date) 1950 FQ5 Bemba FQ5
Luapula Peoples

175

of Musto Yamvo, who had traded with the Portuguese of Angola, to establish contact with their stations on the Zambezi.(1) The army despatched under the leadership of Kanyembo, one of Muata Yamvo's *quilolos* (captains) and reinforced by contingents of the Luba chiefs from the Lualaba, met with little resistance and progressed victoriously. Kanyembo returned to report success and in the course of the second expedition was drowned in the Lualaba by a jealous relative (son?) of Muata Yamvo.(2) Nganda Vilonda, son of the dead man, appointed by Muata Yamvo as the governor of the newly subjugated territories, became the first Kazembe and put down a Shila rebellion. One of the Lunda chiefs married a sister of the defeated Nkuba. Henceforth successive Nkubas, who were left in possession of a district at the mouth of the Luapula, were styled "Kazembe's wives". Under the third Kazembe, Lukwesa, the Lunda conquests were extended eastwards towards the Chambezi.(3) In 1796 Lukwesa received Manoel Caetano Pereira,(4) a Goanese trader from Tete. In 1798 Lacerda, the Governor of the Rios de Sena (Zambezi), made an expedition into Lunda territory, in an attempt to establish an overland communication between the Portuguese possessions on the Mozambique and Angola coasts, and to develop trade relations directly with Kazembe, eliminating Bisa and Yao(5) intermediaries. Lacerda died before he could be received by Lukwesa. His diary, continued by Pinto, the expedition's chaplain, constitutes the earliest substantial documentation on the life at the royal court. Lukwesa's son and successor, Keleka (reigned 1805-50), was visited in 1806 by two "pombeiros", native-born travelling traders in Portuguese employ, and in 1830 by a Portuguese trade mission led by Major Monteiro. Keleka was an unpopular ruler and lost to the Bemba the eastern marches gained by his father from the Bisa.(6) An Arab merchant, Ibn ben Saleh, arrived in 1854 and by the time of Livingstone's visit Arab and Swahili slave-traders were already firmly established and influential. They supplied cotton cloth and other merchandise in exchange for slaves and ivory, which commanded high prices on the Zanzibar coast. The Yeke raids precipitated a new wave of immigration. Imperilled headmen fleeing from their villages came to Kazembe for protection and were allowed to settle with their followers. The kingdom was now suffering reverses for the first time after decades of domination and undisputed supremacy over the small and loosely organised outlying chiefdoms.(7) For a time Kanyembo Ntemena, the reigning Kazembe, driven out of the country by the Yeke chief Msidi, had to seek refuge with Mwamba, a Bemba chief.

The Kazembe, although sovereign in fact, had in name remained a vassal of Muata Yamvo to whom tribute was still being sent in the 1870s.(8) With the defeat of the Arab chief Mlozi by Sir Harry Johnston in 1894(9) the slave trade was effectively suppressed. By this time the country had passed under the administration of the British South Africa Company which, in 1892, set up an administrative post on the Kalungwishi, which then marked the northern boundary of the kingdom.(10) The Kazembe offered resistance and was overcome. The first mission station was established in 1899 by Plymouth Brethren; the London Missionary Society opened a station at Mbereshi in 1900. [797]

(1) Valdez, op.cit., p.258.
(2) ibid., pp.258-60.
(3) Gamitto, 1937, I, p.332; Valdez, op.cit., p.228.
(4) Bowdich, 1824, p.86; Johnston, 1897, p.59.
(5) Coxhead, op.cit., p.4.
(6) Gamitto, 1937, II, p.15.
(7) Burton 1873, p.43; Valdez 1861, I, p.237.
(8) Pogge, 1880.
(9) Coxhead, loc.cit.
(10) Livingstone, 1874, I, p.243.

5:Slaski E-4 (no date) 1950. FQ5 Bemba FQ5
Luapula Peoples

An equally elaborate ritual is practised in connection with salt-making (see above p.85). 317

Certain beliefs and doctrines are of recent origin. The Watch Tower movement (*Fa Chitawala*) which owes its origin to "the incidence of western culture on traditional beliefs, customs and sanctions",(1) is a revivalist movement teaching that before the second coming of Christ Lake Mweru will boil and the Europeans from the district will be thrown into it. The disciples group themselves into separate wards or found their own villages. They cultivate in common and share the produce of their work. The movement has strong political implications, and its adherents refuse to pay tax on the grounds that the Government is resisting the will of God. The Watch Tower flourished openly before the counter-measures applied after the Copperbelt disturbances of 1935. 177 668 795

The *basucapi* movement(2) of witchfinders at one time also gained ground in the valley. It probably originated in the neighbourhood of Lake Nyasa and, like the Watch Tower, incorporates elements of Christian doctrine. 177 795

Greatly feared are the *Banyuma* - natives employed by or having contacts with Europeans - who are believed to murder their own countrymen to satisfy white blood-drinkers.

There are six mission stations at present in Kazembe's Kingdom. The Plymouth Brethren have three (at Kawama, Mubende and Johnston Falls), the White Fathers two (at Lufubu and Nsakaluba), and the London Missionary Society one (at Mbereshi). On the Belgian Congo side there is a mission at Kasenga and another at Chisenbo. 797

(1) Quick, 1940, pp.216-21. (2) Richards, 1935.

7:Richards E-5 (1930-1934)1940 FQ5 Bemba FQ5

177 642 exactly,[1] but they were used in the main as executive officials and shorn of most of their authority and their privileges, such as the owning of slaves, the possession of arms, the right of mutilation, the power of administering the poison test, and the collection of the ivory tusks.

177 641 The sanctions for the power of the new administration were, in native eyes I think, its military strength and the fact that it had overcome the once powerful Bemba chiefs, and later, as new economic values were acquired, its apparently endless wealth.[2] But when talking with elder natives one is aware how largely the pattern of fear and personal allegiance accorded to the old chiefs was transferred with little modification to the new authorities. The same terms are used for both: there is the same assumption that the tax, game-laws, and even the paid employment of natives are all dues demanded by the Government for its own aggrandisement, as was the tribute of the chiefs in the old days.[3] There is much the same belief in the ruler's complete omnipotence, and a similar expectation of sudden arbitrary action, even as I noticed, when the most good-natured and reasonable officials appeared to be concerned. It is no exaggeration to state that each Government station is in effect a native capital or *umusumba*. Each has its district officer, an authority like the chief with a following to whom allegiance may mean advance, and who is regarded with mingled fear and loyalty. Each has its force of messengers and police, employs its own labour.

177 797 The missionary bodies in the country must also be regarded as new authorities set up in the tribe. The White Fathers entered the Bemba country just ahead of the B.S.A. administration and set up their first post near Kasama, in the heart of the Bemba country. They can still be said to dominate this central district, although the Church of Scotland Mission and the London Missionary Society also operate elsewhere. Each different mission station must also be regarded as an *umusumba*. Many

[1] cf. Report of the Commission appointed to inquire into the financial and economic position of Northern Rhodesia (1938), p. 179.

[2] Older natives seemed to me to comment most on the ferocity of the Government officials (*ubukali*), and the younger to speak of the wealth of the Administration.

[3] It is common for old men and women to refer to their sons who have either been recruited or else gone voluntarily to the mines as having been 'seized by the Government', and to speak of opportunities arranged for the sale of their grain as having their food 'seized' by the native commissioner.

7:Richards E-5 (1930-1934)1940 FQ5 Bemba FQ5

177
797

are big establishments, with enormous and impressive cathedrals. They own and cultivate ground, attract a following, have villages on their estates regarded as 'mission people,' just as the *bena munumba* are considered to be the personal following of a chief. Each society, again, has introduced what is, in native eyes, its own new code of laws, often differing from those of the Government and those of the chiefs, e.g. most missions prohibit polygamy, some divorce, others beer-drinking, dancing, or religious ceremonial of different kinds. In native eyes at present there are certain well-known rules binding on the Christian members of the community, sometimes even bringing them into conflict with the other authorities of the society, the district official and the chief, and a new category of offence known as *fya busenshi* ('things of heathendom'), or *fya kale* ('things of the past') believed to be strongly condemned.[1]

Besides their own villagers, the missionary societies exert authority over Christians scattered in nearly every community in the territory, and their grip over these distant 'subjects' must in some cases be just as strong as those of the chiefs of old days. At the Roman Catholic missions at any rate, each baby of Christian parents is registered and summoned at the right time for instruction, however far away he or she lives. Each village is constantly visited by travelling native teachers and evangelists, and by the white missionaries themselves.

The sanctions of the missionaries' authority are many. On the positive side, their teaching and their way of living command a new allegiance and a new opportunity for advance and their personalities very often inspire admiration, affection, and personal loyalty. On the negative side, there is the introduction of a new supernatural sanction quite as powerful as those that supported the chief's authority,[2] and the threat to withdraw the Christian members of a community in which the Christian law is being flouted by a headman or prominent member. This acts as a powerful deterrent in the case of many Roman Catholic villages,

[1] This last is, of course, an injustice to the modern missionary, who is often one of the first to try to encourage interest in and respect for native custom.

[2] The fear of hell-fire, and, in the case of the older and less educated natives, the fear of curses seriously believed to be uttered by missionaries, evidently on the strength of some such statement as 'God will punish you if you behave like that'—such a belief being almost inevitable in an area where chiefs were thought to have power to curse.

7:Richards E-5 (1930-1934)1940 FQ5 Bemba FQ5

since the break-up of the whole settlement may become inevitable in such circumstances.

There are no other organized bodies of Europeans in this area —no big bodies of farmers or settlers, for instance. But it may be said that all Europeans are in a sense in a position of authority. They all have the sanction of wealth and the power of employing a following. All have the high social status that enables them to talk to a chief as an equal, or more usually as an inferior, and all are believed by the natives to be backed, whether right or wrong, by the administrative officers of the district however unjustifiably.

Besides these new authorities introduced into the political arena, the power of the Bemba chief is inevitably reduced by his economic position, which must have grown increasingly bad since the first days of European occupation. The Bemba rulers were never rich compared to a number of African potentates. Theirs is a poor country. They possess no cattle which could be converted to money under modern conditions; the ivory of their country no longer belongs to them, nor their mineral rights. Land has no financial value as yet, and the salaries given to chiefs have always been low compared to the income, say, of the paramount chief of the Barotse.[1] Added to this, the service on which the Bemba chiefs depended is cut down by half or more by the absence of men at the mines, and what remains is often given unwillingly. These chiefs never apparently exacted court fines as a regular thing, after the fashion of the cattle-owning Bantu, and have not yet put a levy on the earnings of men away at the mines, as has been done in some parts of South Africa.

In view of these facts, it may be asked how the power of the *Bena ŋandu* survived at all up till 1929, when a determined effort was made to restore it. Partly because of their closely knit kinship structure, but also, I think, because of the strength of the supernatural beliefs on which their authority was so largely based. These were certainly weakened by the introduction of Christianity and the prevention or discouragement of many tribal rites, but it is impossible to treat them as mere survivals at the present day. Even young men are affected by such beliefs. For much the same reasons, the chiefs' courts continued to function alongside of the

[1] The Barotse chief receives an annual subsidy of £1,700, together with £850 from the British South Africa Company and £1,500 from the Zambesi saw-mills, as compared to the £60 a year of the Bemba paramount.

9: Richards E-5 (1930-1934) 1935 FQ5 Bemba FQ5

791 203 754 The success of the movement was from the first overwhelming. It completely captured the people's imagination, and created its myths as it spread. From hut to hut of an evening men shouted the latest exploits of the witch-finders—the number of horns found in such and such a village, or the people miraculously saved from snakes or lions. The Government, which at first allowed the movement to proceed unchecked, was universally praised. 'This is the best thing the Bwanas have ever done for us,' many natives told me. 'Now at last [797] they are allowing us to free our country from witchcraft.' Adverse criticism of missions which refused to allow their Christians to drink the medicine was frequent. The suspicion, and often the accusations of witchcraft commonly made against unpopular Christian teachers, seemed at last to be publicly substantiated. 'If they have nothing to fear,' the natives said, 'why are they afraid to put themselves to the [789] test?' At the cross-roads outside each village was a pile of horns and other magic objects—horns which many missionaries had tried unsuccessfully for years to remove and forbid.

791 171 121 The cause of the success of this movement is therefore of considerable interest, the more so since it is in many ways typical of many such organizations of witch-finders which have sprung up in other parts of Africa. We have to ask ourselves first, then, why the methods of the *Bamucapi* appealed to the natives so strongly? To what fears did they seem to provide such an immediate and universal panacea? These are questions that cannot be answered by a study of the ritual and myths of the *Bamucapi* as an end in themselves. To assess the strength of the movement in any particular area we have to consider it against a background of tribal structure and belief.

791 157 In the Bemba country, for instance, it may be said that novelty was enough to account for the success of any native movement, religious or secular. The Babemba are known to be unusually credulous and unstable in temperament, the first to adopt and discard anything new. Nyasaland, the reputed home of the movement, has also a high reputation among Rhodesian natives as the land of high wages and educational facilities, and most of the clerks employed in the country are 791 still of Nyasaland origin. Further, the Babemba are among those African peoples with whom every form of Europeanism is a positive 177 cult. The *Bamucapi* appealed because they presented a dogma that

9: Richards E-5(1930-1934)1935 FQ5 Bemba FQ5

satisfied native belief, while their ritual contained many superficial features of the white civilization. The witch-finders came as well-dressed young men, not as wrinkled old native doctors (*ganga*) in greasy bark-cloth. They worked in the open and lined up the natives after the manner of an official taking a census. They sold their medicine in stoppered chemist's bottles rather than in dirty old horns pulled from a skin bag. Their teaching, too, was an interesting blend of the old and the new. Their power, they said, came from Lesa, the High God on whom the *ganga* calls when preparing his medicine, the term being used by the missionary also to describe the Christian God. But curiously enough the efficacy of the medicine depended on the keeping of a number of taboos which are deeply embedded in native belief, such as, for instance, the taboo on a man having intercourse with a woman in the bush. Some natives said that Marya also helped the *Bamucapi*, but added quickly not the Marya of the Catholic missions, but another one; for there is no doubt the movement was anti-mission as a whole. Phrases reminiscent of Christian teaching were also used. The witch-finders addressed the villagers with a preliminary sermon, a technique quite foreign to the native *ganga*, and stressed such ideas as the washing of sins. Kamwende, it will be remembered, descended into the grave and rose again, and was expected to reappear at a second coming. It is interesting, too, that the *Bamucapi* followed the distinctions made by the Roman Catholic missions in the classification of native medicines. Those that contained medicine (*muti*) only were permitted, but those that contained what the Babemba call a *cisimba*, an activating principle, such as an eagle's claw or the bone of a squirrel, were to be forbidden.

But over and above the attraction of novelty there were deeper causes behind the success of the *Bamucapi*. The witch-finders claimed, as I stated, to remove the dangerous weapons of the sorcerer. We have to ask ourselves then, whether the fear of witchcraft is one which dominates native belief. Is black magic, in the sense of a definite ritual actually performed by a man in the belief that it will harm his enemy, very constantly performed among the Babemba?

An analysis of the horns collected by the *Bamucapi* throws an interesting light on this question. I took possession in one instance of the complete heap of horns and magic charms, 139 in all, which had been